

Pakidái  
Surára

/61 cont. /

622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season  
619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the  
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Poréhiwō  
did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with  
the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewō, with their  
families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone  
in Taraquá, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully  
mature Pakidái chief Karenauō, the previously good relationship  
between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly dis-  
turbed. Yet Karenauō really had every reason to be grateful to  
Hewemāo.

● 769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival  
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái  
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly  
Puseheweterí and Xiriána families also took part. During this  
gathering it is customary for Hewemāo to be acknowledged as the  
head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be  
followed. Young Karenauō, however, refused to do this. He  
suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái,  
of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The  
rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended  
even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the  
magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemāo and the mediation of the  
chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwō, who returned to his tribe and  
exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military  
encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for  
there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which  
has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.

[166] When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái  
again moved to /62/ Taraquá on the middle Demini and the Surára  
to the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. But at this point I  
was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their  
families, no longer followed their chief Karenauō, but joined  
Hewemāo and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

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/72 cont. /

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The ceremony for an old person is entirely different. After death has set in, his head is chopped off and is hung, likewise in a little wooden rack, in the crown of a tree, again 15 or 20 minutes away from the maloka. The body, however, is buried in the ground in the jungle without ceremony, and, to be sure, in a squatting position, bound tightly with lianas. This is supposed to prevent its possible return, for it would have dire consequences for the tribe. The head, however, is burned on a small pyre, under the same circumstances as described above, so that the soul may reach the moon in the ascending smoke; the remaining bone ashes are also kept.

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The reason for the different obsequies for younger and older persons is the following: At the big annual ceremony in memory of the dead, which is held jointly with the Surára (see pp. 222 ff.), all the men drink the bone ashes of their deceased relatives, mixed with banana soup, because they believe that in this way the vigor and spirit of the dead remain within the tribes. In the case of old people, however, it is assumed that their bodies are already too leached out for their ashes to be able to transmit strength any more. Only the bone ashes of the head are still regarded as valuable.

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If members of the tribe are very old or so seriously ill that, in spite of all efforts to cure them, they are no longer able to take part in the joint migrations, they are killed. For this purpose there takes place beforehand a gathering of the chief and older, more experienced men, at which they choose a participant who has to perform the killing. He uses a stick for this and, while the person in question is asleep, beats him hard on the head several times, until he has breathed his last (333). These tribal

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333. Old and sick people are killed in similar manner among the Ipurina.

"Moribund persons," writes Ehrenreich, "are said to be dispatched to the other world not infrequently by sorcerers by means of club-blows" (Ehrenreich, 1891,

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Pakidai  
Waika

774 /95 cont. /

775 That is why they cremate only /96/ the skeleton of their dead,  
184 for if the flesh were still present, the soul would be unable to

769 come out in time. The ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes,  
266 too, on the occasion of the annual festival in memory of the  
dead, is connected with the idea that strengthening remains  
of the soul are still present in them. In this connection Zerries  
writes with reference to the Waiká: "We were unable to find  
the idea of a bone-soul among the Waika, if we disregard the  
774 connection between bone ashes and bole" (490). Zerries also

490. Zerries, 1958a, p. 107.

points out that the soul, according to the view of the Waiká,  
is peculiar only to the human being, but not to the animal (491).

491. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

774 According to the statements of the Surara and Pakidai chiefs,  
775 however, the human soul of the dead on its journey to the  
moon must be accompanied by a like-named animal or plant  
soul of the dead, which serves as a guide (see pp. 149/150).  
It is assumed by the Surara and Pakidai that children are  
without a soul until they have completed the third year of life,  
because during this time they are nursed by the mother and  
thus still belong to her flesh and blood as well as to her soul  
(see also pp. 138 and 154). Waiká children are said to re-  
ceive their souls only after the completion of the sixth year  
of life (492).

492. Zerries, 1958a, p. 106.

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Pakidái

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faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that

506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

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3 Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomão -- (508). It always takes

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508. This contains the word for corpse,  
the male or female dead person --  
anomão.

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place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, etc.) also take part. The patapáanomão festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

Surára  
Pakidái

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[462] few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flat-cakes were piled up little by little.

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[276] On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men

509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

[533] each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

[534] 509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[276] Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

Surara  
Pakidai

769 /103 cont./ Then they sat down in a  
535 circle and started singing a song in chorus. Soon afterwards  
[533] five warriors, holding arrows in both hands, arose and danced  
around the singers. Now and then they made huge leaps and  
shouted in a high, shrill voice. All this was enacted on a cool,  
cloudy, full-moon night, but the numerous hearth added some  
light. All the women and girls, as well as my servant Mateus  
and I, lay in the hammocks and watched the unique spectacle.  
Toward 1:00 in the morning the male participants in the festival  
arose and now danced, again one behind the other, around the  
outer circle of the maloka courtyard. They were arranged in  
such a way that a man with two arrows was always followed by  
one who held his hands crossed behind his head.

[622] Suddenly Chief Hewemão, who was sleeping in his ham-  
[123] mock next to me, was tapped lightly by a warrior with an arrow.  
He got up at once, removed shirt and trousers (he had been  
given the two articles of clothing by me as gifts), took a bow  
without a bowstring in his hand, had snuff-powder blown into  
his nose, and mixed with the dancers, who, however, immedi-  
ately after his entrance formed the following new formation:  
Ten men arranged themselves in rhombus form at the head of the  
dance procession, one at the very front, two behind to one side,  
and two more behind and to one side of these; two stood  
directly opposite the latter, then followed two who stood somewhat  
inward and finally one who was in the middle behind these  
(Fig. 29). The first five warriors, who had blackened them-  
selves with soot, symbolized the nonexf (evil spirits or spirits  
of sickness, see p. 211) and were obliged to dance backwards.  
The five dancers following them embodied hekurá (gigantic  
animal and plant spirits who /104/ /Fig. 29 appears here/  
Pakidai; see pp. 199, 214 ff.). Between these two groups of  
five, the participants of which each held two arrows in their  
hands, a sham battle was being carried out during the dance (see  
also pp. 214 ff.). Each of the men of the first group danced two  
steps back and one forward, and those of the second, two steps  
forward and one back. In between, wild leaps and turns were  
executed, the men threatened each other with the arrows and  
screamed in the highest key. The "nonexf" were constantly in

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Pakidái

/104 cont./

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Fig. 29. Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead.

retreat and defended themselves with all their might against the advancing "hekurá." Behind these ten "fighting" dancers there followed six men in a row, each with an arrow in his hand, the advance guard of the chief. At a slight distance they were joined by the Surára chief Hewemão, flanked on either side by six men forming a double row. These men were also prominent personalities; thus, among them there were the two younger brothers of the chief, the war chief of the Surára, the chief and war chief of the Pakidái, as well as especially excellent older warriors of both tribes. Following them, as a rear guard, in a double-row formation, came the rest of the men, young men, and boys. All who took part in the procession moved in the customary dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang in chorus. Now and then Chief Hewemão would utter a hissing sound, whereupon all the participants grouped themselves in the center of the plaza around the large clay plate with snuff-powder. Here the chief, in a singing voice, prayed to the hekurá and asked them to intercede with Poré/Perimbó, so that the festival would be vouchsafed a happy and successful course. Then the men blew new snuff-powder into each other's noses, whereupon the dance would continue in the manner described above. This dancing and singing lasted, except for the brief interruptions at the clay plate, until 6:00 in the morning.

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Surára  
Pakidái

/104 cont. /

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Immediately after that the Surára chief squatted down at his hearth, and beside him squatted a medicine-man helper. On the opposite side of the large maloka the Pakidái chief and a helper had assumed the same position. Hewemão, the first-named chief, began to speak loudly and distinctly to the hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits). While doing so, he kept stroking his hair from front to back and then slapping his seat. The helper squatting beside him repeated each of his words and copied all his movements. (This was to express symbolically that the hekurá, the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being, Poré/Perimbó, actually pass on all questions, requests, and wishes). After Hewemão, the Pakidái chief spoke to the hekurá, and his helper likewise repeated each word and imitated the gestures (stroking the hair and slapping the seat). This exorcism, which the two chiefs carried out alternately, lasted an hour.

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After that the two exhausted chiefs and the rest of the men, young men, and boys lay down for a well-earned rest. /105/ Meanwhile the women had been going about their accustomed activity. They fetched water, prepared food, took care of the children; some of them also plaited a basket in the meantime, or they strung glass beads on a string. Some of the men who had meanwhile awakened continued to lie idly in their hammocks, some also played with the children, while others sat together in groups and talked.

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Toward 2:00 the festival was resumed when 20 men, young men, and boys, each of whom held an arrow in his hand, rushed into the maloka courtyard with loud shouts. They were magnificently painted (510) and on the upper arms and in part

510. The painting had been done with urucú color and consisted of serpentine lines, circles and dots; several men, however, had painted their whole bodies red.

Surára  
Pakidái

/105 cont. /

- 769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments  
 [302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair  
 [301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.),  
 the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They  
 769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around  
 535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and  
 533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step,  
 during which they sang. But this dance was constantly inter-  
 rupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed  
 to drive the nonexf out of the maloka and show them how danger-  
 ous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusi-  
 astically watching this performance from their hearths. For the  
 [302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had  
 [292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;  
 [301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers  
 (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly  
 solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone  
 ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading  
 personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square forma-  
 tion before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was  
 squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To  
 the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward,  
 squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother,  
 Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Poréhiwõ,  
 the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the  
 latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita  
idolatriza Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one  
 empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief,  
 Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru ves-  
 sels standing in front of him.

Poréhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the  
 small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little  
 urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to  
 Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the  
 [782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-  
 [788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Suraya  
Pakidai

/105 cont./

- 769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head  
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawō repeated each of his words  
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Poré/Perimbó (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidai chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

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512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

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behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Poréhiwō, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

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Surára  
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Poréhiwō returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauō, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Poréhiwō and Kurikayawō, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train.

[533] This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard  
[182] several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

[517] Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

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513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

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Surára  
Pakidái

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On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawō, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to play loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemāo, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the

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514. Hewemāo also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the deceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.

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Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung. Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities /107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes, and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

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Surára  
Pakidái

/107 cont./

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296 snuff-tubes. After these preparations, the chiefs, all the men, youths, and boys, light and black-colored participants, assembled outside the maloka. At a hissing sound from Hewemão they then stormed into the courtyard, screaming loudly, ran once around the periphery, and then grouped themselves around the clay plate. The snuff-tubes were filled with powder, and the men by twos blew it with all their might into each other's noses (Ill. 44). On the occasion of this festival they take even more snuff than before other magic performances, curing the sick, and prayers. The effect was extraordinary. After only a few moments all the men were in a wild state of ecstasy (Ills. 45 and 46). At first they danced and leaped, gesticulating and screaming, in wild disorder around the clay plate, and after that they stormed around the courtyard several times in the

[535] same manner. Then groups of five, ten, or more men put their arms around each other's necks and performed stamping circle-dances in this formation (Ill. 47), during which each man tried to pull another one tightly to him; now and then they also danced with the knees bent. After half an hour, this ecstatic dancing, during which the participants were bathed in sweat, was replaced by an extremely strange type of sport --

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526 petapóanhamû. In the entire outer circle of the maloka courtyard there were seated everywhere two men opposite each other, chest to chest, with legs spread apart; in each case one had his on top of the thighs of the other one. The partners were always a Surára and a Pakidái; moreover, in each case one of them was blackened. They wound their arms around each other at the neck and, with vigorous arm movements, pulled each other back and forth with all their might (Ill. 48). Each tried to pull the head of his opponent quite close to him. Sometimes their arms would drop down on the back of the other one, and they would then pull at each other for a while in this position. During the struggle they constantly called out wrathful words at each other. Often the wives stood beside their husbands and spurred them on. But there were no victors and no losers in these combats. If the strength of a combatant flagged, another tribesman immediately came and continued the struggle with the opponent.

Surára  
Pakidái  
Waiká

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted  
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs  
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this  
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with  
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable  
strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically  
represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other,  
who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexf  
(see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After  
[262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed them-  
selves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-  
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered  
from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in con-  
nection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives  
were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in  
the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in  
which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along.  
This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important,  
so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held;  
even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time.  
It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased  
Surára or Pakidái.

769 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká,  
114 which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds  
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515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries  
believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festi-  
val to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be  
said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest  
festival.

Surara,  
Pakidai  
Waika

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[266] festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive magic against the nonexf is connected with it, for they, of course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where the symbolic struggles between the "hekurá" and one or more "nonexf" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the gavião-real out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waiká in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably,

517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

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526 however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surara and Pakidai. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xiriána, Puseheweterf, and Aramamesterf engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanonámi, which in former times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Rio Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

Surára  
Pakidái  
waicq

114 /108 cont./ According To Zerries, Barker,  
769 and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waiká,  
526 in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest  
184 with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom,  
769 also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in  
276 the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the  
palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, out-  
179 side influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by  
the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 It is further noteworthy that among the Waiká women and  
184 girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in  
562 some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with  
[266] bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very signifi-  
184 cant similar trait. It is documented for the Waiká by Cruxent (523a)  
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114

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

Surárg  
Pakidái  
Waicá

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/108 cont. /

and Zerries in several articles (523b) (524) (525). Moreover,

523b. Zerries, 1955a, p. 80.

524. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 664/65.

525. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

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Moreover,

/109/ the latter author, on the basis of contributions to the first five volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians, drew up a distribution map for the occurrence of endocannibalism, which was supplemented by numerous examples (526). Accord-

526. Zerries, 1955a, pp. 80/81.

ing to this, endocannibalism occurs in South American primarily in the western parts of the continent and among the marginal and submarginal tribes of the Tropical zone. This custom is particularly frequent among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/. In most cases, besides the pulverized bones, which are mixed with chicha (for example, Pano and Tukano), water (for example, Tapuya), or a mash of Pará chestnuts (Moré Indians), the flesh is also eaten. The practice of the Surára, Pakidái, and Waiká, on the other hand, who consume only the cremated, pulverized bones, is very rarely found. The corresponding custom of the Sáliba, Guayupe, and Saé in Colombia is the most similar one. But in eastern Guiana, too, endocannibalism is widespread, for example, among the Karaiben /Carib/ Parukotó (527) and

527. Friel, 1957, pp. 520 and 545.

among the Arapium, a Tupi tribe in the vicinity of Santarem (528).

528. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

Moreover, it is reported of the Kalina, Palikur, and Arawak that they consume cremated bones of the dead (529). Of the latter

529. de Goeje, 1943, p. 11.

Su rā rā  
Pa Kida i

● 769  
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/109 cont./

Raleigh also writes that they pound the bones to powder and consume them mixed with a beverage (530) (531), and the same has

530. Raleigh, 1848, p. 53.

531. Waitz, 1862, p. 388.

been attested to for the Mauhé (532).

532. von Martius, 1867, I, p. 404 A.

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According to Whiffen, there is no endocannibalism at all in South America, for, according to his view, only vengeance against hostile tribes can be regarded as a motive for anthropophagy. "From all this," he continues, "it follows that intra-tribal cannibalism would be a criminal outrage by the tribe on itself, and therefore it could never occur that a member of the tribe was eaten, .... This disposes of any such thing as the eating of dead relatives as a sign of respect. These and similar statements are due to misapprehension /sic/ of facts by the writer, or a too hasty judgement on the part of the explorer" /cited in English/ (533). In conjunction with these devious

533. Whiffen, 1915, pp. 120/21.

statements by Whiffen with their completely unjustified criticism, I should like to cite a contribution concerning endocannibalism drawn up by Herbert Baldus and Emilio Willems (534):

534. This appeared in the eminently important, but long out of print, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, which came out shortly before World War II and is therefore, unfortunately, not available in most European libraries.

Surára  
Pakidái

114 /109 cont./

• 169 /The long passage in Portuguese which follows on pp. 109-110  
266 in the original source is omitted in the translation; see the  
171 foreign text/ /110/ (535a).

535a. Baldus e Willems, 1939, pp.  
40/41.

Most recently there appeared the commendable study by Boglár, "Ein endokannibalischer Ritus in Südamerika /An Endocannibalistic Rite in South America/," in which the author presents the material of several competent sources (535b). I

535b. Boglár, 1958, pp. 67-85.

cannot, however, agree with his interpretations in connection with them. The consumption of the bone powder of the deceased is by no means always to be associated with agricultural tribes, for, as my informants among the Surára and Pakidái explained to me, their forebears, who were pure hunters and gatherers, already practiced this custom. Also the author's view that the showing of respect, the magical transmission of good qualities, etc., can be regarded merely as secondary motives of the endocannibalistic rite (535c), do not apply to the

535c. Boglár, 1958, p. 83.

Surára and Pakidái; here they are decidedly primary. Among them the future life of the dead is assured by cremation, for with the ascending smoke the soul of the dead reaches the moon (see p. 151).

It should further be mentioned that endocannibalism is documented also for Central America, Mexico, and in one case in North America, but Beals regards it as a typical element of the South American Indians (536).

536. Beals, 1932, pp. 123/24.

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→

III. 41. Pakidái Indian  
with tobacco roll be-  
tween lower lip and  
teeth.



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III. 42.

The Surára and  
Pakidái men as-  
semble during the  
festival in mem-  
ory of the dead  
for the ceremon-  
ial drinking of  
the banana soup  
which is mixed  
with bone ashes  
of deceased mem-  
bers of the tribe.

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342  
411  
535

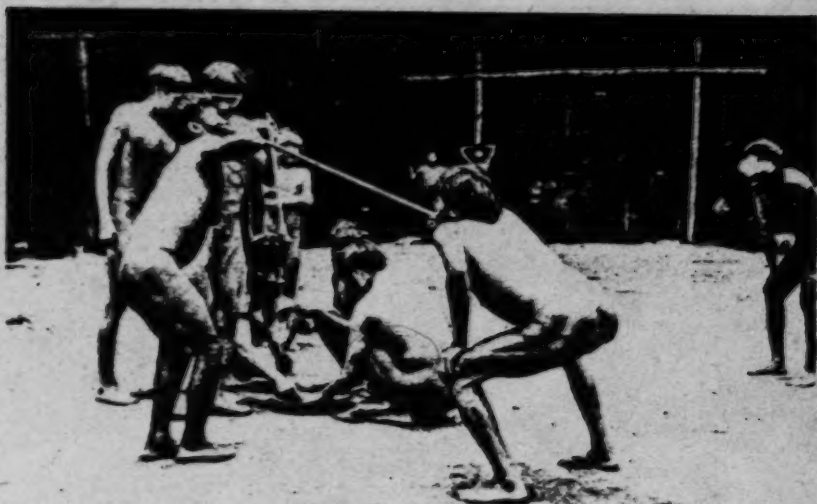
III. 43. A dance of the  
Surára warriors. (Chief  
Hewemão is sitting at the  
left in the foreground.)



Surára  
Pakidái

/14/

142  
516  
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769  
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Ill. 44. Surára and Pakidái men blow snuff-powder into each other's noses

769  
276



Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

Surda  
Pakidai

/15/



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142  
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302

III. 46. Height of ecstasy



III. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy



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←

769  
526  
→

III. 48. Petapoanhamú -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

/214 cont. /

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill

[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite

554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,

• 769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to

628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,

[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablif shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe before this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari explained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father, who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In 162 the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in 855 the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicative of the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

121

I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yanomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yanomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yanomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

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The collection of genealogies proved to be the most important and the most difficult task of my field work. The widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living and the dead found in South America, particularly in the Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yanomamö. Consequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

124 until I devised techniques to overcome this informant re-  
[128] action. I had ultimately to resort to using informants from  
124 other villages to get much of the information, particularly  
551 names, about the people with whom I spent most of my time, or,  
- 769 to employ informants who had grudges against individuals with-  
578 in the village; the greatest insult a Ygnomam5 can give is  
to say the name of a person's dead ancestor, and I capitalized  
on this custom at every opportunity.

124 Once I obtained accurate names,<sup>1</sup> the task became  
551 easier and I was able to use local informants once again,  
769 although rarely would they mention names of their dead rel-  
atives. Toward the end of my field work I managed to gain  
the confidence of several older individuals who verified and  
expanded on information I had collected by more devious means;  
even so, they themselves would not mention the names of many  
of the individuals in the genealogies, and I was constrained  
by my bargain with these informants not to mention the names  
of any of their closely related dead kinsmen. By utilizing  
124 several informants who were not closely related I managed to  
128 verify and correct the genealogies of the people with whom  
I lived, and I am reasonably sure that the information is  
accurate as far as it goes, although there are probably

[128] <sup>1</sup>I was satisfied that the name was accurate when I  
obtained the same name from several of my most trusted in-  
formants. The best proof, however, was the reaction of an  
informant who was related to the deceased. If this informant  
became angry or upset when I whispered the name in his  
presence while checking a genealogy, I was reasonably sure  
that I had the right name.

124 omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of  
123 individuals from other villages were easier to collect,  
particularly if my informants had grudges against the members  
of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in  
these cases as well.

124 After I had established the genealogical relation-  
ships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of  
the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other  
124 kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as  
123 the Yanomamö resent being called by their names, particularly  
551 older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would  
554 say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in  
769 a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly  
dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to under-  
stand why a complete stranger should want to possess such  
knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My  
guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names  
of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous  
consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this  
advice.

124 In short, the collection of the genealogies was an  
unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for  
intensive study of other aspects of Yanomamö culture.

114 The two monographs dealing with the Yanomamö men-  
tioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of  
social organization; to date no intensive analysis of  
Yanomamö social organization has been attempted using data

726 villages (Bisaasi-tedi, M̄maribōwei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi).

[764]  
[266] These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on  
[245] the Patanowā-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting  
plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next  
several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay

[132]  
[221] their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season  
in order to make it difficult for the Patanowā-tedi to raid

\* [361]  
[228] them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at  
the end of March both for military protection and for respite  
from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the  
Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would  
be raided by the Patanowā-tedi if they returned to their own  
village before the rains started. They also planned to raid  
the Patanowā-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the  
wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowā-tedi  
would be difficult once the rains started. They could return  
[132]  
[221] to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle  
separating their village from the Patanowā-tedi is inundated  
at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

• [769]  
\* [628] On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary  
feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for  
the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were  
to include the M̄maribōwei-tedi, but they did not arrive as  
scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only  
a few M̄maribōwei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid,  
and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the M̄mari-  
bōwei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

## 58 • ADAPTATION

774 I, in effect, was capturing the *noroshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noroshi*.<sup>13</sup>  
 825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed  
 177 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them  
 123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ubudibó*, the part  
 126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the  
*noroshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with  
 those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After  
 187 several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the  
 bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanoamö fear the smoke that is produced  
 153 when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on  
 183 contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the  
 burning bodies.

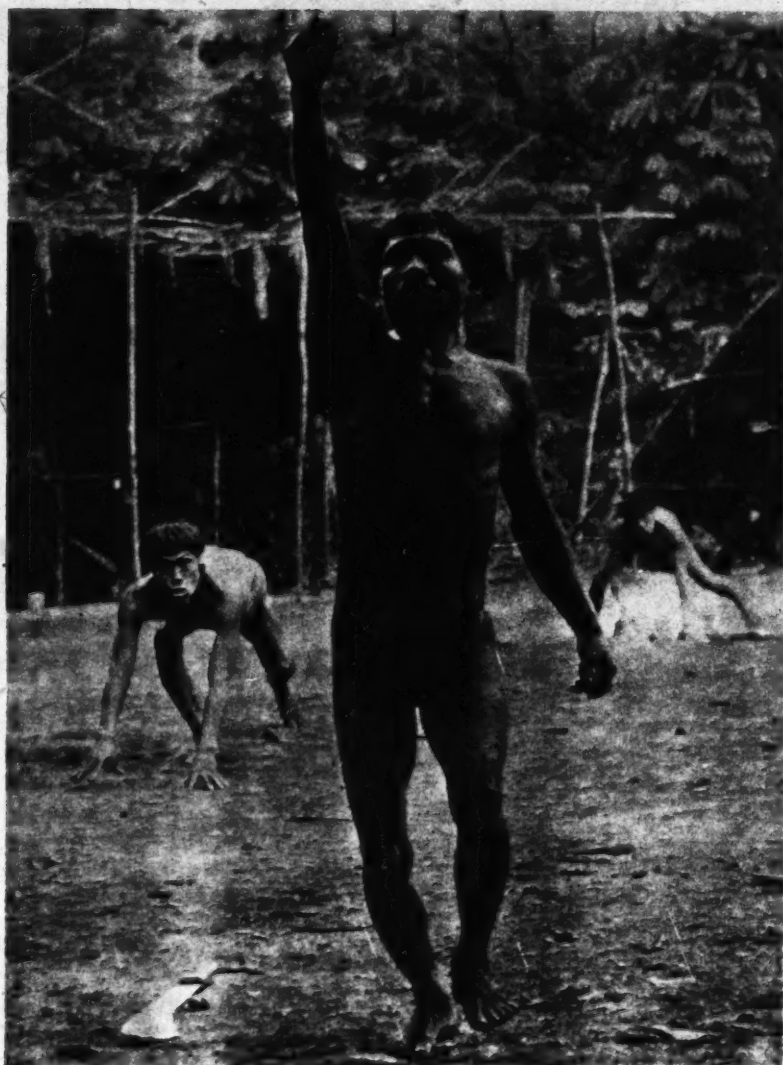
764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs,  
 covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones  
 are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and  
 783 women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe  
 542 carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.  
 858

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously  
 with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The  
 charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The ac-  
 cumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate  
 burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.  
 237 For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the  
 531 circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.  
 562 The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative  
 fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles  
 and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a  
 531 long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches  
 in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder  
 by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep pro-  
 fusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and  
 266 sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with  
 boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a  
 ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with  
 266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, espe-  
 cially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-  
 726 monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain  
 kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing  
 enemies.

13 Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be  
 769 reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive  
 reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.



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Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura—demons.

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *bedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yanomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

769 •  
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628 •

## THE FEAST • 111

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kaobawā's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yanomamō visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position. (262\*)

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kaobawā's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests. (535)

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4-2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning. (264) (262)

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*waiyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kaobawā would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the (262\*)

\*During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the raid. (262) (263) (264) (265) (266)